

# The Republican.

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## TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF ALBION.

CITIZENS,

Dorchester Gaol, June 1, Year 4,  
of the Spanish Revolution.

I HAVE been silent on the proceedings in Spain, since I announced the invasion of that country by the French troops; and my silence has arisen from the circumstance, that nothing of real importance has yet occurred to induce me to break it. The Spaniards have defended, and continue to defend, all those points where defence was deemed prudent; and the French bulletins do not even boast of a single advantage gained by the Bourbon troops! The crisis has arrived: the French are in Madrid, and now the war will begin.

For the information of those of my readers who have not a map of Spain, I will begin by observing, that Spain and Portugal together form a Peninsula, which designates a spot of territory nearly surrounded by water, having a mere neck of land to join it to a continent. This point of land in Spain consists of the Pyrenean mountains, which divide it from France, extending from the Mediterranean Sea on one side, to the Atlantic on the other. In going from France to Spain you have the Atlantic on your right and the Mediterranean on your left. The first division of the Bourbon troops entered Spain on the extreme right, or on the side of the Atlantic, passing along as near the coast as possible. Madrid is in the centre of the Peninsula, and rather beyond the centre of Spain, which is a country about six hundred miles in length and about five hundred in breadth; so that the route which the French took would make the march to Madrid about four hundred miles. The Spaniards held nothing but three fortresses in the march of the first division of the Bourbon army namely, St. Sebastian, Pampeluna, and Santona; every other place was evacuated in a direct line to Madrid. This measure required the Bourbon

army to be weakened at every step it took, for the purpose of keeping up a communication and observing the fortresses left in the rear: to take which no attempt has been made but with gold which has been rejected. With the exception of an occasional sally from those fortresses, and a skirmish at a town called Logrono, where, it appears, that, contrary to the general orders, some Spaniards stopped to fight from a mere love of trying their hands at it, the Duke of Angouleme has been allowed to march quietly and unopposed to Madrid. However, it may be well to observe that in whatever skirmish the patriot Spaniards have been engaged, they have shewn that spirit and enthusiasm which their cause warrants. The affair of Logrono was an attack of four thousand French and Spanish royalist troops upon nine hundred of the patriots, and the latter made a sufficient execution among the royalists to destroy several hundred more than their own numbers. The actual loss of the invaders is stated to have been fourteen hundred. The French lost their commanding Colonel, and the Spaniards had their General taken prisoner. This, as I have before observed, was a mere skirmish from a desire of fighting, on the part of this body of Spaniards. They had every opportunity to retreat if they had chosen. The garrisons of the aforementioned fortresses have made some most successful sorties, from a similar love of fighting, for mere amusement. Up to the latest intelligence, or near to the end of May, the invading army has sustained a loss of ten to one of the patriot army; and if the soldiers of the latter only keeps up this harrassing warfare, they will soon give a good account of the invaders!

Gold forms the main feature in the ammunition of the invaders, and has already corrupted all those Spaniards who are corruptible. Bribes have been offered to every Spaniard who has the controul of a corps, or a fortress, but there is no proof, that it has been any where yet successful: though fears are entertained, that its effects will soon begin to be visible. I do not despair at this bribing system: it has begun in good time, for it will separate all the traitors from the constitutionalists; and though it may do great mischief for the moment, will in the event, do great good. There are some noble Spaniards, who will prefer country and their political principles to gold. Such are Mina and his companions. Such I should think will be found to be Riego, Quiroga, and all those who brought about the revolution in 1820. It may be well to observe here several of the



Spanish Generals, now in command, are not much to be depended upon: such are O'Donnell, Morillo, and Bellasteros, all more particularly in contact with the advanced part of the Bourbon troops. I wonder much, that Riego and Quiroga have not more prominent commands!

All the treachery that the base king of Spain can exercise; all the treachery that the British Government and its detestable Ambassador in Spain, Sir William A Court, can exercise; all the treachery that the French Government with its invading army, and the Monks, and Priests, and soldiers of the Faith, can exercise, is now in play against the Spanish Constitution! But, though our English ministers and their hired writers have ventured to boast, that the struggle is over, on the part of the Spanish constitutionalists, I can see, that it is not over, and that *it will not be over, until SPAIN be a PURE REPUBLIC!* All this treachery will detach the men of no political principles from the more sturdy Patriots, and the end will be a Republic! I am quite willing to risque my life upon the result, and would fly to Spain to morrow if I could. We shall have another grand specimen of the madness in a people, in keeping up a monarchical power when they can destroy it! It has always been a question with me, whether the Spanish revolutionists have not committed a great error, in keeping such a wretch as Ferdinand in any kind of kingly power! Some writers have applauded the prudence of the measure; but I think, that if he had graced the scaffold in 1820, no Bourbon army would have invaded Spain in 1822! The life of every man that has been sacrificed this year, has been of more value than that of this kingly villian! I cannot much respect the humanity of that public writer, who would sacrifice the lives of thousands of obscure, though useful, individuals to persevere that of a base and criminal king. Though a king is a sort of chief magistrate, there is not one in Europe, whose life I think so much importance as that of any one mechanic or labouring man, who lives under him. I would not expose a hair of my head to molestation, to preserve any one of them from danger or loss of life; though I would do a great deal more for any other human being! I look at kings as a caste, who are, and who ought to be, considered as having set themselves up beyond the pale of the laws of humanity! They have, in fact, no tie, no kindred, with human beings. //

The Spanish Cortes, with their unwilling constitutional king, are now at Seville; which is a city on the extreme frontier from France. Ferdinand's plea of the gout was of

no avail; he was ordered to march from Madrid and the gout fled at the thought of it! I see the London papers have expressed their fears that an attempt has been made to corrupt a majority in the Cortes upon the plan of our Government with the House of Commons; but I think, that the Cortes has given sufficient proof of the strength and purity of the majority of its members. Doubtless the power of gold will be tried in every shape; but it will only tend to increase the resources of the country! The French ministers are already put to their shifts for more; for they have been most lavish hitherto, and every circumstance indicates the completion of the hopes of the European Republicans!

The most interesting part of the struggle is now carrying on in Catalonia, which is a frontier province of Spain on the Mediterranean side of the Pyrenees. Here the gallant Mina has the command! over him gold has no influence! The exact number of men he has with him is not known; but his plan is a mountain warfare, with about three thousand men at once! He has already made great havoc with the French and Spanish royalists; and will if he be not cut off by treachery, become one of the most distinguished characters that Europe has hitherto produced! with the energy, the ability, and the activity of a Buonaparte, he combines the patriotism of a Washington, a Bolivar, and a San Martin! His plan is to make no prisoners, which is perfectly justifiable in a struggle for liberty! The man who willingly arms against liberty deserves no quarter: and the man who is compelled to arm against his will, need not be a prisoner, he is in duty bound to change sides the moment the opportunity offers! this is what many of the French are doing in Catalonia; which is, in fact, the first opportunity they have had of so doing! Reports say, that 80 Frenchmen went over to the Spaniards from one regiment, and that other small companies have gone over to the cause of liberty, whenever the opportunity has offered. The French papers acknowledge the retaking of twelve of these deserters. The first battle of any importance, in which the French are beaten, and have to retreat, they will desert to a man; for it is a moral and physical impossibility, that they should have a strong attachment to the Bourbon family; and it is for the aggrandizement of that family alone, and not for that of France, that they are now fighting! The more they succeed the more they will enslave France

It may be well to state here, who are the men from whom the most is expected in Spain. Mina is first and foremost,



and he has under his command some celebrated officers of the names of Milans, Llobera, Roten, San Miguel and Costo. These men will all do their duty. Roten has already had a smart engagement with the French, in which he made great havoc with them, and retired in good order; but the Spanish account of this affair has not arrived. All these officers move about with three thousand men each, and harass the enemy, upon a principle, which is called Guerilla warfare; that is, they keep in the mountains, and pounce upon the enemy suddenly, make what destruction they can, intercept convoys and so on, and then retire to wait for fresh opportunities. This species of warfare could not be carried on in England, in the same effectual manner, as there are no mountains of sufficient extent for the purpose. I should except San Miguel in this Guerilla warfare at present, as he is the commandant of the fortress of Figueras. His excellent answer to the summons of Marshal Moncey has appeared in "The Republican."

Guerilla corps are forming all over Spain. There is one celebrated man of the name of *Jaurequi*, or commonly called the *Pastor*, engaged in this line of warfare; there is another, who first set the example in the last war against Buonaparte, of the name of *San Martin*, known also by the name of *Empecinado*. These with many others, are now actively engaged with their celebrated corps, and will carry terror to the bosoms of the invading party. To attack convoys and small detached parties is the particular line of duty these Guerillas adopt, and as they retire to secure places, and are always on the look out, they are more to be dreaded than an open numerous army in the field.

Sir Robert Wilson has joined the Spaniards, accompanied by a Colonel Light, and a Captain Erskine, the grandson of Lord Erskine. The reception they met with, on landing at Vigo, in Spain, is sufficient to rouse every lover of liberty to follow them. It matters not where we fight the battle of liberty. We shall feel in this country the effects of the battles fought in Spain, the same as if the scene of battle was at our own doors! I know no better country in Europe than Spain in which to recommence this warfare. It is the extreme end of the European continent. When France brought about her Revolution, she found it necessary to chastise the priests and royalists of Spain into good behaviour. France was beset on all sides. But now, if we can see the enemies of liberty driven from Spain, and the struggle renewed on the German side of the Rhine; the

general establishment of Republics throughout Europe becomes a matter of immediate certainty. If I can get outside of the walls that confine me, see the least chance of getting to Spain, and of being useful there in a struggle for a more extended liberty, I shall feel it a most sacred and irresistible duty! I shall go! I also invite every single man in this country, who has a Republican heart to go with me, and even every married man, whose wife will consent to a temporary widowhood for such a cause, and whose children will not be left in want. I came to this resolution, the moment I saw the Spaniards were bent upon a real struggle for liberty, and as soon as I saw what I fancy I now see, that a majority of the Spanish nation rightly estimates the principles of liberty! Treachery will do a great deal to disunite and dishearten them, but I see enough to be satisfied, that, if the existing Cortes were to consent to a modification of their constitution under foreign dictation, *one year would not elapse before there would be an actual struggle for a Republic!* It is the battle of Republicanism that the Spaniards are now fighting; all else is mere pretence.

Let no one suppose that I am disposed to talk largely, because I am in a prison: I know that fifteen hundred pounds will purchase my liberty any day; and I also know that, *that* will be no obstacle to my embarking in this cause. My mind is made up, and I shall only wait to see whether there will be a British Cortes formed.

I view this war in Spain as perfectly an European war; and, in fact, it has a more extensive relation; it is the war of the oppressed against the oppressor, and will effect, if successful on the side of the oppressed, the interests of every labouring man on the face of the earth. I say again, Spain is the best of countries in which such a war could begin, and it is for this reason that I advise as many as possible of the oppressed of other countries to go there and assist in fighting the battle. Let any man ask himself the question, whether it is not more satisfactory to fight his oppressors at a distance from his own dwelling, or in a foreign territory, than to see his friends and relatives flying from those dwellings to the mountains and forests for security. Could Buonaparte have led those troops into England which he led into Spain, the Duke of Wellington would not have stood before him in a second battle. A few months will fill the bosom of every Spaniard with a deadly hatred towards the invader, and success will beam on the cause of liberty. The grand object then will be, to have an army formed that will invade



France in its turn and give its people the opportunity of forming a perfect Representative Government. Again let me say, that this is not the cause of Spain alone, but the cause of every brave and honest man.

I have, in a letter written a few days ago, shewn other means of giving aid to the Spaniards. Since I wrote that letter, I find there is a Spanish committee formed, and a public meeting will soon be held, to give power and directions to a permanent committee. No time should be lost in beginning to work for the Spaniards. Let no man wait for his neighbours; but let every man act an independent part and do his utmost. Shoes are a matter of great importance! Many of the Spaniards have not a shoe upon their feet! and what can be more easy than for every shoemaker to knock up two or three pair of shoes, if his neighbours will pay for the leather? And what more dreadful to think, that those who are fighting the battle of liberty should be crippled and destroyed for want of shoes? Pikes, muskets, swords, and pistols will be desirable; but a club with a good pair of shoes is better than the best of weapons barefooted. It should be understood, that the committee in London will receive every kind of material that can be useful to the Spaniards; and if but a single pair of shoes be sent to them, carriage paid, they will be acceptable.

Republicans! from you I shall certainly expect to hear that something has been done. Two of my shopmen, in Giltspur Street Compter, are shoemakers, and though they are compelled to work for the prison; I will answer for them, that they will make a pair of shoes a week, for the next six months, for the Spaniards; if any persons will find them the leather. Why cannot others do the same?

R. CARLILE.

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TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

Edinburgh, May 21, 1823, of the  
Carpenter's Wife's Son.

SIR,

IT is now fully six months since I put my name to any letter which I have written to you, not that I felt any backwardness in avowing my opinions as formerly, but I wished, if possible, to keep free from a prosecution for blasphemy; as I had no inclination whatever to be banished, or perhaps hanged, which, it seems, the present law of Scotland would sanction; and there is little doubt, but that by the

present mode of choosing juries in Scotland, our Christian prosecutors have the power to select such men as would answer their purpose.

The period of six months for which I was bailed, expired yesterday, and I am now so far a free man again, as to be out of this friendly custody. The behaviour of the Christians towards me, since my name was published in the newspapers, as a member of the Edinburgh Freethinkers' Zetetic Society, has completely confirmed me, if any confirmation was wanting, of the bad effects of their system of mythology. My customers nearly all left me as soon as they knew that I was connected with that society, and some of them have not had discretion enough to pay what they owed me. But such is the way in which Christians behave to those who are honest enough to express any doubt or disbelief, concerning the doctrines of Christianity. They use every means to persecute, directly or indirectly, every one who cannot subscribe to their idolatry. But, in truth, they have no other method of defending it! This is the way they do good to those whom they consider their enemies! This is the way they return good for evil, and such is the practice of the worshippers of the meek and humble Jesus the Carpenter! I am not an enemy to Christians as men; indeed, there are many of them I sincerely respect; but I am now a sworn enemy to Christianity in every shape, and I hate their religion because it engenders a spirit of persecution; but I hope that neither they nor their priests, nor their three-headed God, will long be able to prevent free discussion and the march of intellectual improvement.

The Christian religion, established in this, or any other, country, is supported by force, and maintained by fraud and extortion. Small indeed would the incomes of clergymen be, if proportioned to their usefulness as members of society. But by what they gain by fraud on one part, and extort by law on another, they make comfortable livings, and are, therefore deeply interested in maintaining of things as they are. There is little doubt, if they saw a chance of bettering their situations by embracing Materialism, but that they would be the first men to hold forth that doctrine! The clergy know, that we are enemies to all kinds of idolatry by which their fat livings are obtained, they are therefore determined to oppose us by every means in their power, however barbarous or wicked. But the men in holy orders, in all ages of the world, have followed the practice of supporting the delusion of the time in which they lived. Some of these, indeed have been forward enough in effecting a change, from one idolatry to another, but one and all have set their faces against all those men who have laboured to emancipate mankind from the shackles of superstition. I wish it were left to the clergy and their idols alone to oppose us in the work of reformation; we should then shew to the world, which had the best side of the argument; mankind would then soon be convinced who were their friends and who were their foes.

Our learned Advocate has made several misrepresentations in the House of Commons concerning our society, such as, that some of us



expressed contrition for our conduct, (contrition for what?) and our limiting those who opposed us to ten minutes each to reply. Now the very contrary is the fact, five minutes extra were always allowed to the Christian speakers, because they were few in number. But I have sent Mr. Hume a statement of facts, which will enable him to contradict when the subject is again brought forward, those, and other misrepresentations which have been made. The abettors of the Christian idolatry, will stop at nothing, however mean, false, or inhuman, which they think will support their tottering fabric of delusion.

This day, or to morrow, we intend to petition the Sheriff for the books which he took from us. Whether the law authorized him to take them we know not, but if he do not return them, we mean to take legal advice how to proceed to recover them.

With my best wishes for your future welfare and comfort, believe me, dear Sir,

Your constant friend,

J. AFFLECK.

TO MR. JAMES AFFLECK, EDINBURGH.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,      Dorchester Gaol, May 27, 1823.

I CONGRATULATE you on your release from your six months friendly custody, and I congratulate you further on the progress of that good sense in Edinburgh which has evidently frowned down all further attempt to proceed in any prosecution against you and your fellow members of the Edinburgh Free Thinkers' Zetetic Society.

I understand the principle very well by which the Christians justify themselves in not paying you their debts; it is the same as that by which the Papists acted towards the early Protestants in making it a rule to keep no faith or promise with a heretic. It is rightly and truly a religious mode of robbing, and corresponds with every thing that passes under the name of religion.

I wish to explain one thing, as it seems to be important, respecting the law of Scotland on what is called *blasphemy*. In the House of Commons, it appears, not a man of the Scottish Law Officers knew that the law had been repealed which made the religious misdeamour called blasphemy punishable by death. By the reports of the papers, the Lord Advocate seemed to admit that the law of Scotland still inflicted death as a punishment for what he called "a cursing of God." The matter appears to have been generally asserted and uncontradicted when your petition was presented by Mr. Hume.

The case is, the Act of the 53 of George the Third, passed in 1813, commonly called the Unitarian Act, repeals that part of the law of Scotland: the clause is as follows:

"And whereas it is expedient to repeal an Act, passed in the Parliament of Scotland, in the first Parliament of King Charles the Second, instituted an Act against the crime of blasphemy; and another act, passed in the Parliament of Scotland, in the first Parliament of King William, entitled, 'Act against blasphemy;' which acts respectively ordain the punishment of death; be it therefore enacted, that the said acts and each of them shall be, and the same are, and is, hereby repealed."

The one of the Six Acts relating to blasphemous libels, leaves the law of Scotland in the same state as it was before.

But it is a pretty joke, that it should go forth from the Legislature, that blasphemy is punishable by death in Scotland, when an Act has been passed to repeal it! It is another of those striking proofs which we are constantly getting of the capacity and knowledge of our Legislators! I will be bound for it that no thousand men in any one town in the Island know less of the laws nor break them more often than the thousand self-constituted Legislators who make them.

Yours,  
R. CARLILE.

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TO MESSRS. HOLMES AND RHODES, GILTSPUR STREET  
COMPTER, LONDON.

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CITIZENS,

Leeds, May 11, 1823.

WE, the undersigned, beg your acceptance of this small sum, as a token of respect for the noble stand you have made against kingcraft and priestcraft.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
William Driver	1	0	Mary Kink	0	6
Mr. Wright	1	0	Sarah Byerley	0	3
D. W.	0	6	Eleanor Byerley	0	3
An Enemy to the Devil	1	0	Esther Byerley	0	3
J. H.	0	3	Joseph Gill	1	0
Samuel Ingham	0	6	John Smithson	1	0
An Atheist	0	6	Thomas Steel	0	6
John Ripley	0	6	Mr. Walker, Rastrick	1	0
Charles Button, an Enemy to			R. W. Byerley	0	3
all Expediency	0	3	Elizabeth Byerley	0	3
John Carr, Huddersfield	0	6			



CITIZENS,

Compter, May 21, 1823.

WITH feelings of pride and satisfaction we acknowledge the receipt of the above subscription, not so much on account of the pecuniary aid afforded, as to think we are worthy of the notice and esteem of our fellow citizens of Leeds. Let them be assured, that so long as we stand so highly pre-eminent, our principles unimpeached and untested, we shall see kingcraft and priestcraft recede before us, and and in time 'twill, "like the baseless fabrie of a vision, leave not a wreck behind."

We are determined that no exertions of ours shall be wanting to render our victory complete over the united forces of tyranny, whether they are headed by a crown or mitre. Our motto, is "persevere and be free," and we shall be heartily content, if when we have done all in our power, "we may but claim our country's thanks, our country's gratitude."

We remain, citizens, gratefully yours,

W. V. HOLMES.

JOSEPH RHODES.

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TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

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DEAR SIR,

Millbridge, May 21, 1823.

MINE is again the pleasing duty to transmit to you the following sum of £4. 1s. 0d., being a subscription from a few friends in Hightown, Milbridge, Hartshead, and Lightliffe; towards shewing our hatred of the abominable systems of politics and theology which have so long disgraced this country; and for the extermination of which you are a conspicuous disgraced labourer. There is another hoax getting up in this part of the country, upon which I have thought proper to make a few remarks, and I address myself

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE "YORK REFORMERS  
UNION."

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE just had a placard put into my hands giving an account of a meeting held by you on the 31st of March, and also purporting to be a declaration of your "Political views and sentiments," which I think calls for exposure. Whether this "Union" be a new one or whether it be only the "Northern Union" under a different name or whether it be like the Phoenix springing a new from its expiring ashes I know not, but this I know, that it has the same tendency to gull and mislead the people, consequently calls for the condemnation of every honest man.

You begin by stating that you have surmounted the difficulties of

forming societies, and that your views are the "*support of the genuine principles of the constitution!*" Now, Gentlemen, if you had told us what this constitution is, or what its genuine principles are made of, or what constitutes a constitution, we could have known what to make of your views and sentiments. But as you have not told us what a *constitution* is, I will tell you, and then enquire from circumstances if we have any such a thing in England. A constitution then to be good is a code of principles that can produce nothing but a good Government. All legislative acts are to be founded upon, and in unison with, it. A constitution would define the form, the duration, and the powers of the executive and legislative bodies with the manner of constituting them. It is the same to the legislature as the acts of that legislature are to a court of justice, a rule of action which it is treason to the nation to violate.

Now, Gentlemen, have we such a constitution as this in England? If we have, where or what is it? Is the much-boasted-of Magna Charta your constitution? If it is so, where is your House of Commons there? And besides do you boast of it being granted "*that all privileges and immunities granted by the King to the Barons would also be granted to their vassals.*" Surely you are treated as being born for the service of the Barons? Yet this is the much boasted of Magna Charta which ordains that barons shall grant privileges to their vassals! vassals are vassals! blessed Magna Charta, the boast of Englishmen, the admiration of the world, and the great bulwark of English liberty.

I think that I have no occasion to enquire if the triennial or the septennial duration acts emanated from a constitution. When the legislature fixes the length of its continuance it then forms both constitution and legislature which is the same, as if a court of law was to make laws for itself. I think, that I may safely dismiss this part of my subject by saying with Paine: "There is no such a thing as constitution in England;" can you produce one? If you can why not do it? If not, why do you keep up such a continual prating about the constitution and its genuine principles where you must know, if you know any thing about the matter, that there is no such a thing known to the people of England.

After complaining of much bad usage and misrepresentation you go on to say: "We declare without any mental reservation that the only object of the reformers is to obtain a real House of Commons, which the constitution gives us an undoubted right to claim." Constitution again! In the preceding paragraph you say: "the institution of this union was not for the support of faction against faction to the contending interests of which this country has too long been a prey." Now, Gentlemen, what is a real House of commons but a faction intended to contend against the different interests of the Lords and King? For different their interests must be, or why want a House of Commons to contend against them? If the interests of the Lords and King were the same as those of the Commons, you might very easily dispense with the latter! It is plain that you do



not think they are alike in interests and for that reason you wish to set up your House of Commons against the other two factions! What fit of insanity has induced you to set up your single faction against the other too, whose interests are nearly the same, (that is the enslaving or making vassals of mankind)? I cannot tell without you wish to involve us again in civil war, between the factions for power and prerogative, and to throw us at least a century back in civilization! Look at the time of the first Charles; nay look at the whole English history what has it been but one continued scramble for superiority between the factions? You say, that to the purification of the source of all corruption alone we must look for relief, without telling us what is this source! I do not like this indefinite way of speaking. I presume that you mean the House of Commons? Now, if the House of Commons be the source of all corruption, would it not be far better to destroy that source at once than spend so much time and useless labour about a thing that is allowed to be the source of all corruption! I rather think that you will not like this explanation, when you hear how it is applied, therefore you will say you want to purify the other two factions, the Lords and King. A curious manner of purifying a corrupt source, to set another to run parallel to it! How came the King and Lords to be the source of all corruption? Is the source not in the people who are too indifferent to look after their own affairs, or too ignorant and too cowardly to prevent their bad management by their more crafty neighbours? Had not the union given signs of a slavish apathy, there never would have been either King or Lords! Then this apathy of the people is the source of all corruption. This is what you should unite to remove! Teach the people their rights show them their powers and then all the multifarious evils of which you complain will be easily removed, What a field here for your talents, instead of the cold degrading nonsense about setting up a single faction against two more powerful ones! Besides the people begin to be heartily tired of the despicable cant.

You say, and say truly, that "in vain will be every exertion that does not strike at the root from which the evil proceeds." Then why do you not "strike at the root of the evil?" Why do you not show the people that the two factions of King and Lords are usurpations and have arisen over them and not out of them? I say why do you not do this, instead of endeavouring to cheat the people into a belief that the King and Lords have a right to negative the will of a whole nation? You say the "great (the Lords I suppose) are divesting themselves of their prejudices against the reformers." What, out of Bedlam could imagine that a body of men will voluntarily give up their controul over a nation? Even allowing that they do not behave with that rancour towards the reformers, that they did some time ago, does prove that they are turned reformers? No such thing: if they are more mild in their behaviour now than they were formerly, it is a firm conviction that reform would not detract from their power, they having the prerogative to negative every

measure that the Commons, however pure, adopted, and farther that they can silently negative every Parliamentary motion for reform.

We come now to the grand rostrum that is to be applied to all the multifarious evils we labour under, and which is to work by a kind of magic. It is, that by the subscription of weekly pennies you are to procure the return to parliament of such as may be approved. Here then we have it! No abortion! This O brave, wise, politic Reformers! If ever you had abuse or desperate designs played upon you for the like this, depend upon it, it was none of the partizans of despotism that played them. No, they would further it with all their might! They know that when you had attained the summit of your wishes, that is, got approved men into the House of Commons; they well know, that if the men you approve of begin to be refractory the King can dissolve the Parliament, and then where are your pennies! You are laughed at by the despots, the people are gulled, hate the name of reform, and thus the cause of liberty is thrown back incalculably.

You tell us that nothing but legal expences will be paid; but then what are those legal expences for? They surely are not to hire men approved to become candidates! No, they are to hire the electors to vote for your approved men; but then if your electors want hiring, they will be like other hirelings; they will vote for the man that gives the most hire. And do you think that your weekly pennies will be sufficient to compete with a ministry who have the resources of the country at their command? Impossible! Therefore, you had much better begin and teach the people of England what are their true interests; for until men vote from principle, all your endeavours of this kind will be multiplied by the easy method of dissolving Parliament, if they do not out-hire you in the elections.

If you had formed a society to send the "Rights of Man" into every cottage in England, you would have done something towards meeting the esteem of your countrymen. You would then have begun a Union that would have caused the despots to fear you more than a thousand such as this you have begun at present. Fear not the odium and revileings which the partizans of despotism may throw upon you, branding you with Republicanism, and a wish to subvert our ancient constitution, &c. for depend on it, they entertain the same thoughts of you now. They think that reform is only a pretext for your further disigns, while at the same time they know that so long as you keep to your present ground they have nothing to fear, and they are perfectly correct in all their judgments. The faction of the Lords have the majority of the Commons under their nomination, and they will never nominate men that will vote for the extinction of that prerogative. Mr. Wooler says with what consistency I leave his readers to judge, increase the friends of reform to what number you please, if it be short of this majority there is no way made in that house. So say I, therefore what is the policy of continually temporising the question? You see that measures for reform however moderate are rejected! Then begin and hold up to the people



the only system of Government under which they can be secure and happy; which is a Republic Elective and Representative in every root and branch. And likewise let your contributions be more immediately applied to the relief of incarcerated patriots and not spent in a useless contest which can be of no essential service, but support the men who have dared despotism to its very teeth; and suffering for those very darings still unintimidated, and only want the support of the people to baffle all their attempts to stop the circulation of sound political maxims. Let me again entreat you, to teach the people unimpeachable principles, and they will have the virtue and courage to defend them; and will prepare accordingly. For be assured, as Paine says, "To reason with despots is throwing reason away, the best of argument is a vigorous preparation."

I remain, Gentlemen, Yours a Republican,

JAMES PENNY.

*From Hightown, and Hartshead*

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Messrs George and John				William Hemingway	0	2	0
Lister	2	0	0	Josh. Bowel	0	0	6
A Friend to Freedom	0	2	6	A Friend	0	0	6
Volney	0	1	0	A Friend to liberty	0	1	0
E. Jackson	0	1	0	A Christian	0	0	6
Maria	0	0	6	A Friend to Freedom	0	2	6
Robinson Benton	0	1	0	Mark Fisher	0	0	6
An Enemy to Despotism	0	1	0	A Friend to Freedom	0	1	0

*From Mill Bridge.*

	s.	d.		s.	d.
James Penny, Materialist	5	0	Thomas Green, Materialist	5	0
Thomas Anson	1	0	An Enemy to National Debts	0	9
Nathan said to David thou art			A Friend to Freedom	1	0
the Man	0	3	A Friend	1	0
Thomas Anson, Jun.	0	6			

*A Subscription from a few Friends at Lightliffe, being the first subscription, and are afraid it will be the last, as they are already condemned to the dark regions of Pluto, by the Fanatics, from which they cannot hope to return.*

	s.	d.		s.	d.
J. W.	1	6	Joseph Woodhead	1	0
James B.	1	0	Joshua E.	0	6
J. L.	1	0	J. E.	0	6
R. R.	1	0	Clifton	3	3
John Hayley, an Enemy to all			J. Naylor	0	6
Black Vermin	0	6	Paris Bancroft	0	6

TO MR. JAMES PENNY, MILLBRIDGE, NEAR  
LEEDS.

Dorchester Gaol, May 27, Year 4

CITIZEN, of the Spanish Revolution.

I HAD seen a publication of the "Declaration of the York Reformer's Union," and was much amused at the sentiments that seemed to me to correspond so well with an "Honourable" President, and an attempt to reform other such "Honourables" by throwing pennies at them, at the "Honourable" *nominations* of "Honourable" Legislative Deputies! In fact, I had some notion that it was a *burlesque paper* put forth in contempt of the "Great Radical Northern Union" and its "Honourable" Knight Sir John Thacker Saxton. Who or what is the "Honourable Henry Butler?" I have never heard of an aristocratic family of that name. And if it be not a burlesque title, I mean, if he be of an aristocratical family, he may rely on it, that reform is meant to put a stop to all other "Honourables" than those who are honourable in their virtuous and moral conduct; honourable patriots and good men, and not as titled aristocrats. He may therefore have very prudently renounced his title of "Honourable" before he had announced himself a reformer. Depend on it, there is not a man, a reformer, who is amused with the title of *Honourable*. For all men, who are honourable in *titles only*, things are best as they are.

I had hoped to hear no more of this penny parliamentary project; but, I believe, "The Republican" has not yet found its way to York. Wherever it has gone, it has put a stop to all progress with the project. In its professed object, it is certainly the most infamous and bare-faced of all the frauds that have been practised upon the men who are called Radical Reformers. Even at Manchester, where this "electioneering," this "legal expence" project, was first announced, I am happy to perceive, the subscribers have grown ashamed of it, and have most wisely and admirably voted one hundred pounds to the purchase of war materials for the Spaniards! Had such an intention as this been announced as even probable, when the subscriptions first began, I should have been the last man to have said a word in disparagement of it. But this vote of hundred pounds to the Spaniards is an annihilation of the whole par-



liamentary project; for it was announced, as an exclusively parliamentary accumulation of pennies! They were to have been sacred to the opposition side of the Honourable the House of Commons! It was a pity but an accumulation of pennies could have bought titles and aristocratic privileges, to have sent a few of the leaders of the Radical Reformers into the House of Lords; for they are all most profound supporters of that constitution which constitutes *hereditary wisdom* and *hereditary power*! How easy, how pleasant a thing it is, to put down the projects of great men with little minds!

Radical Reformers! give all your pennies to the Spaniards; and go and imitate them, if you really want a Radical Reform! I will certainly go to Spain, or wherever the struggle for liberty now begun on the continent be carried on if it be protracted beyond my imprisonment. My inclination has led that way even in anticipating the struggle, but now I have heard of the warm reception given to Sir Robert Wilson, and the anxiety in the Spaniards to be joined and supported by the people of this country, I will go as early as possible. I will go, because I am convinced, that it is the right road to arrive at that liberty which we have been so long talking about in this country. Reason may convince honest men, but it will never convince dishonest men and despots: they must be put down by superior force.

Sir Robert Wilson, through the medium of one of those persons who have gone with him, has called for five thousand men from this country, to be composed of English, Scotch and Irish. Surely there is that number ready to start. Go, my countrymen, go; you never can find an opportunity more grand to fight for the cause of liberty! It is as much your battle and your cause as that of the Spaniard; and happy may you feel, that your wives and families are not exposed to the same despotic calamities as are those of the Spaniards!

There is another point worth your notice. Every shoemaker in this country ought to make one, two, or three pair of shoes, or as many as he can afford, for the Spaniards and Portuguese in the field. This may be easily done, and ought to be done. It is a sacred duty. Let the neighbours of every shoemaker subscribe and furnish the leather, and let him make them. No better way than this can be devised to give the Spaniards useful aid from abroad. Shoes

are every thing to a marching and counter-marching army. I see an account in the papers of this day, that the Portuguese army, in pursuit of the rebel royalists, were much distressed for want of shoes. Why a shoemaker need only work two extra hours a day, to make two pair in a week, without any loss or expence to himself, if his neighbours will pay for materials. A committee is about to be formed in London, to whom nothing can be more easy than to receive those and ship them for Cadiz, or for those ports where they will be more speedily useful. It is better to send material of this kind than to send money to the Spaniards. There is scarce a trade but may furnish something useful. Let one part of the community subscribe for the raw material, and let every workman, who is able and willing, work it up. There is no occasion to wait for any other plan or scheme; *begin to work*, and send off packages of useful things to the committee in London, as fast as possible. There will always be a ready means to send them to Spain and Portugal. There are near five thousand shoemakers in London, who are Republicans almost to a man. How easy may this body get up twenty thousand pair of shoes? Half the time saved which they jointly spend in the ale-house in one month would be sufficient: and here it may be seen, that there would be no sacrifice on the part of the workman. The idle man has only to do a little more work, and the industrious man to work two extra hours a day for a fortnight. The same observations apply to all other trades that can furnish any thing useful for an army.

Accept my thanks for your support, and recommend it to all your neighbours to think of, and do something for, the Spaniards.

R. CARLILE.



## TO THE CHRISTIAN JUDGE BAILEY.

## LETTER XVIII.

Dorchester Gaol, May 30, Year 1823,

CHRISTIAN, of the last of the Gods.

I OVERLOOKED a note on the Epistle for the third Sunday in Lent, to which I now return. The words on which you comment are, "Foolish talking," you observe: "Christianity lays the restraint, as it ought, not upon actions only, but upon words, and even thoughts. Our Saviour assures us, Matt. xii. 36, 'that every *idle word* that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of Judgement; for by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.' And he had given as the reason, Matt. xii. 34, 'for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.'"

If mankind were likely to be called in question hereafter, for every *idle word* that had been spoken in the course of their lives, there would be at least some good amusement in another world, if all could bear the examinations! It also shews the folly of a man's attempting to record his own memoirs in this life, when he will, by and bye, be enabled to have recourse to documents which will not only record every action but every word he has spoken! If there be, or are to be, any printing-presses in heaven; that is, if Gods and angels have sense enough to understand the arts of mechanism, about which I have my doubts; I expect, that next to that of being Judges and lawyers, paper makers, printers, and booksellers will form the best trades, if profits are allowed to be made; for there will be a universal demand for copies of that immense folio book, which saints and sinners call the *Book of Life*!

All persons whose trades are connected with feeding or clothing the body, had better learn something new before they die; for food will not be necessary, and nakedness is the custom and manner of angels, for what God has formed, and what God allows, can never be immodest to the sight nor immoral in the practice. The New Testament tells us, "they are neither married nor given in marriage," in that life, therefore, we may be assured, that general and indiscriminate love will be the future happy lot of mortals!

They will have nothing to do but to read the "Book of Life" and make love! and, as the conduct of the sexes in this life is so near alike, there is a wise arrangement made, that they shall be proportionately associated in the higher and the lower regions in the next world! See the wisdom of Predestination! Even the bachelors and old maids of this life will be necessitated to associate and make love in the next, for cats have not souls, nor will the species be perpetuated for their amusement. The Scripture says: "God is Love!" therefore all that he controuls must be love! for the empire of Love is absolute and invincible! It tolerates no other co-existent power! The love of books, which is mental love, and sexual love, which is sensual or bodily love, will sway all other passions! Ideas of property will be unknown or little respected, for love respects nothing of this kind, and wherever it rules it asserts the equality of its votaries.

"*Foolish Talking*" being the subject of my comment, I feel a license to relax from my usual gravity; for it is impossible to treat your comment with serious observations. I shall then suppose, that to prevent generation in the next life, the French method of prevention will be adopted; for as immortality will be the order of the day, and as immortality defines perpetual health and vigour, generation would lead to a confusion that even the "God of Love" could not regulate! The people of France are wiser than the people of England in this respect they generate no more children than are conducive to happiness, these at what times they choose, and this by a *preventive*, that whilst it is a promoter of health, is *in no wise obnoxious to law, repugnant to modesty, nor a breach of morality!* God himself has set a good example in this respect, for we are told that he, an almighty and eternal being, has never generated more than one son! The fathers of the church have not informed us of the sex of the Holy Ghost, nor who was its mother! Heaven will certainly be a delightful place! The perfection of love is the perfection of wisdom, which we shall never accomplish in this confined and paltry life! For this we must wait until we arrive at that "city, which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God;" that is, the *City of Love*, for *God of Love*, and *Love is the one Omnipotent*, in and by whom we are to live, and move, and have our being! *Eternity* is a dreary foresight to look at, unless with the assurance that it will be spent *in love!* I will put a few questions to Antichrist upon this subject, when he brings his



next article for the press, the answer to which shall be duly communicated for the benefit of future generations! Perhaps Antichrist will write peculiarly upon the subject! And here I would caution you, Mr. Justice Bailey, and all your fellow Christians, that as false Christs and false Antichrists are about to rise up, the *real Antichrists* will only be seen and known through my publications!

To return to the subject of *idle talk* and the *day of judgment*, I would observe, that if every *idle word* be to be *accounted for*, and if there be no more speedy method of making speeches, giving explanations, and receiving evidence, than we find in the Court of King's Bench, the *day of judgement* will be a *long day*; and I fear the business of the lawyers and judges will sadly mar our prospects of happiness, as is the effect of their occupation on this life! To be sure, *Eternity is a long day*, and in *Heaven*, in the *City of Love* there is to be no night! All is to be open, visible, and exemplary! We shall not blush at what we love, nor hold our dearest habits to be criminal! Genuine love, like genuine morality, is known by openness of action, candour, frankness, and sincerity!

If we allow that mankind had no souls, no claim to immortal life, before Christianity was introduced among them; then, if we allow a thousand million of souls, which is the computed number of human beings on the earth at one time, to pass off every fifty years, we shall have thirty six thousand millions of souls from this time, to undergo examination for every *idle word they have spoken*! The misfortune is, that the greatest talkers talk the most nonsense, or the most idle words, and some of the Christians, indeed all of them, will be found to have talked nothing but *idle words*; so *God knows*, there will be enough to do to have them all accounted for! Besides, when is this *day of judgement* to begin? Mr. Justice Bailey! For your sins towards me in this life, I sincerely hope, that as a punishment you will be appointed presiding Judge at the day of judgment; and that you will not be allowed to quit your seat until all the idle words of your fellow Christians be accounted for, I wish you no heavier punishment!

It seems to be a doctrine of the Christian gospel, that mankind shall be punished for their words; and, I suppose, this is the ground work, or the law of prosecutions for blasphemy; but like every other part of that gospel, it is contradictory and mischievous. Words spoken, unaccom-

panied by actions, or without relation to actions, can never be strictly criminal; and what are termed *idle words* merit no kind of notice but silence or contempt. Such words are mere passing sounds, and are of no more import, nor half so disagreeable, as the braying of an ass.

The same words spoken in different manners, and under different circumstances, have very different meanings and bearings; therefore what rule of punishment can be applied to them? For instance, it would have been a very different line of conduct, for any man in this country, two or three centuries back, to write and speak of God, Devil, Heaven, Hell, and all such nonsense, as I now write and speak. It would have been a dreadful shock to the opinions of the age; but now, the mass of the people can read my Republican without a disagreeable sensation; and in fact be much amused, if not instructed by it. If I were to go into Spain, I should not broach my sentiments in the same manner as I now broach them in England: I should think it criminal to do so. If I found an enquiring mind, I should endeavour to reason with it coolly and philosophically; but I should studiously avoid giving offence to a single prejudice it might entertain: and this because, I am sensible, that the mass of the Spanish people are not prepared for the same species of discussion with the mass of the British people.

The great duty of every public writer is to lead on the public mind to improvement. Every such writer should be considerably in advance of the aggregate of existing knowledge in all his writings. He is a public teacher, and his first object should be to know the people well to whom he writes. His words and his subject should then be of that kind to convey the greatest amount of instruction, both moral and physical. For a public writer who, in this country at this time, is not a Christian to convey to the public any fulsome nonsense about Christianity, is an unpardonable hypocrisy. He must see that all kind of superstition are rapidly on the wane, and it is his duty to lead them on to annihilation.

I pass on to a note for the epistle for Tuesday in Easter Week. You have these words: "Our Saviour Jesus:" and this you consider an explanation! Now, the word Jesus is not a real name; it signifies Saviour: therefore, to say our Saviour Jesus, is as much as, and no more than, to say our *Saviour Saviour*, or to make a repetition of the same word.



I do not believe that the word Jesus ever formed a name among the Jews. It may have been a surname given to an enterprising chief; but there is no proof that it has been, nor argument that it may have been, a real name among the Jews. In the whole of the Jew books, called the Old Testament, to the best of my recollection, we read but of one Joshua; which is the same expression with Jesus; this Joshu is a character sketched as a *Saviour* or a *Chief*, who led the Israelites into what they considered a promised land. All this is fable; but still the name of Joshua applies properly to the character drawn, and we no where to this day, have ever read of, or found another Jew of, the name of Joshua.

Josephus in his history of the Jews, makes mention of three or four persons of the name of Jesus, but there is so striking a singularity connected with each, that the tales have all the appearance of fiction, excepting one, the hero of which was a rebel to the existing Government, and a chief of a band of men. Josephus mentions his knowledge of, and opposition to, this individual, and I have often thought, whether the religion of the Christians may not have originated with the respect of a part of the Jews for some such character. The true origin of Christianity I take to be irrecoverably lost, and so obscure as to baffle every enquiry.

The word *Christ* is another unmeaning word: as a name, it signifies *Anointed*, and the words *Jesus Christ* are, in fact, a proper designation, with the Jews, for any enterprising chief, whom they may have adopted as a leader. *Saviour Anointed* is the literal meaning of the words, which, in fact, do not constitute a name, but a distinction added or fit to be added to a name: as the word *Crowned King* applies to the existing *Chief Magistrate* of this country.

Josephus calls this *Jesus*, of whom he expresses a knowledge, a *Captain of Thieves*; and the Christian story about their *God Jesus* being crucified between *two thieves* carries something like an analogy with it. Josephus lived just at that time, at which we may judge, from all our knowledge of the origin of the Christian religion, the object which occasioned its origin must have, or may have, existed. There is one *Jesus* mentioned by Josephus, as a man who went about foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, who was severely scourged for the tumult he occasioned, and who was finally killed by a stone slung from the machines of the besiegers. This tale may have been the foundation of the

Christian religion, but I have no opinion upon the subject, even though I find no better evidence as to its real origin.

That some such individual caused the origin of the Christian religion is more than probable: it does exist, and must have had an origin: whilst the scattered state of the Jews, their attachment to their city *Jerusalem*, and the horror which they must have felt at its destruction, combined with their gross ignorance and gross superstition, rendered them a people just fitted to receive and propagate such a tale as that which has originated this religion. The whole of the Christian writings shew, that the Jews were the first propagators of the story of *Jesus* among themselves, and that too immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem and their temple, for I challenge the most learned of the Christians to shew, that any thing in the shape of the tale of the Jesus of the New Testament was known in any part of Asia or Europe before that destruction. It may be well to observe too, that *Jesus* is a word synonymous with *Messiah*.

It may be asked, how it came to pass, that all the surviving Jews did not embrace the new doctrine. The answer is clear. From their known attachment to their sacred writings, there not being an atom of coincidence in the doctrines of the Old and the New Testament: it is likely, that the bulk of them would reject the new doctrine, after their horror had subsided in the lapse of time; and thus we find the propagators of the Christian Religion, who, doubtless, had begun to find it a profitable employ, turned from the Jews to propagate the new superstition among the Gentiles, shaping, of course, their leading tenets to that end! Such is the best idea I can form of the origin of the Christian religion: whoever can shew a more probable account, let him, I will profit by his better information.

William Tell, George Washington, Simon Bolivar, and San Martin, are so many real *Saviours Anointed*, so many real *Jesus Christs*! I hope Spain will find a *Jesus Christ* in this its crisis; and I hope, that our own country will yet find its real *Jesus Christ* to admire; but the sooner we get rid of all respect for the *Jewish Thief* who passes under that name, so much the better! No good can come from a worship of such a character, that costs the industry of the country a revenue sufficient to make it the most splendid and most powerful nation on the face of the earth!

In a note, at page 148, on the words, "Pure religion," you observe: "The sum of religion is beneficence and purity." Is it so? Let us enquire. What is religion?



*Religion* is an invention of false notions by ignorant men, who first invented certain notions of a God or Gods, to account for their own existence and the physical effects they saw around them, and then, different modes of words and actions, as what they considered a homage due from themselves and from all mankind to those Gods. Such was the origin of religion!

Now, since it is proved to demonstration, by the science of the present age, that religion has its foundation wholly and solely in error and falsehood, for all that is said about *true religion*, or *natural religion*, is as false as any other part of it; it follows, that there can neither be beneficence nor purity connected with it, nor any kind of good or morality emanating therefrom. I make a challenge to every human being who feels any kind of attachment to the word *religion*, to state any one relation he fancies it has, that I cannot overthrow and prove to be without foundation! It has no physical relations; what has no physical relations is nothing; and all words used upon the fiction bear relation to nothing but falsehood!

Religionists, to support the cheat and delusion, have attempted to amalgamate their social duties with their notions of religion; but give morality its proper definition, separate what is really a social duty from what they call religion, or religious duty, and you leave the word *religion* a naked delusion; the foul prostitute of the mind, the destroyer of morality and chastity, of beneficence and purity! Come all you advocates of the *true religion*! Come all you admirers of *natural religion*! Come and defend the Hag whose image you worship! Come and I will shew you, that *religion is wholly false, and wholly unnatural*!

Religion, in any and in every sense that the word is used, is associated with nothing but fraud and falsehood! I can trace no other relation or foundation that it has, after the most candid enquiry, and I, therefore, call upon the most enlightened religionist, to show the contrary of my conclusion. It is a thing made up wholly and solely of words that define nothing, of prayers that avail nothing, and of actions that are socially and morally mischievous! Man can never be strictly good and moral, whilst he gives the slightest countenance to this *fraud* and *falsehood* called *religion*; nor until he has scouted from his mind all such ill-founded notions of the great almighty power that constitutes the universe, as, that it is an organized being like himself, capable of listening and attending to every idle sound he utters! In

relation to his existence, and the existences about him, man has none but moral duties! There are, in fact, no such *requisites* as *religious duties*. *Duty* defines that which is *necessary, useful, and proper to be done*; therefore, the word *religion* has no relation to the word *duty*! There can be no religious duties! *Moral duties* embrace every thing required to be done by man towards his family, his friends, his neighbours, his country, his enemies, or the whole of animated nature! In fact, I verily believe, there would be no future enmity among mankind, if all notions of religion could be destroyed! I speak of nations and not of individuals here; as I am sensible, that the tempers and dispositions of men depend entirely upon their organizations, their healths, and their relative situations. But if there were no national stimulants to war, there would be no national wars! Religion, with her priests, is the main national stimulant to war, and this destroyed, the source of human bitterness would be destroyed.

Man has no duties in relation to the contemplation of his existence of other existences, or even of the universe; but those which morality defines. Such contemplations are the source of knowledge, which is closely related to moral power and moral improvement. To speak of things, which a man's knowledge does not enable him to comprehend, cannot be moral: it is an act, at least, that is an incipient of fraud and falsehood. It may be properly designated under the term *religion*; but it is wholly immoral, and a real bar to mental improvement. Morality is that great power that produces human happiness, or the greatest sum of happiness to the greatest number: and mankind, as a whole, will increase the amount of their happiness with the amount of their morality and knowledge, and with the annihilation of ignorance improper notions, or religion. Therefore, I conclude, that the sum of religion is neither beneficence nor purity, but malevolence and impurity.

This is a point the religionist was never attacked upon before. I am very anxious that some of them, or any some of them, should take up the guantlet I have thrown down; to discuss the question, *whether religion has any relation to, connection with, or controul over morality*. This is the grand point whereupon to settle the value of religion; and here I stand, ready to defend *morality* from any such a *foul connection*.

RICHARD CARLILE.



IN the fifth chapter of Mark we read a strange story of the devil getting into the swine after he had been turned out of a man, and as the freaks of the devil in that story and the tumble-down descriptions in this are very much alike; the two stories ought to go together.

"And they came over unto the other side of the sea, into the country of the Gadarenes. And when he was come out of the ship, immediately there met him out of the tombs a man with an unclean spirit. Who had this dwelling among the tombs; and no man could bind him, no not with chains: Because that he had been often bound with fetters and chains, and chains had been plucked asunder by him, and the fetters broken in pieces; neither could any man tame him. And always, night and day, he was in the mountains and in the tombs, crying and cutting himself with stones. But when he saw Jesus afar off, he ran and worshipped him, and cried with a loud voice, and said, what have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou son of the most high God? I adjure thee by God, that thou torment me not. (For he said unto him, come out of the man, thou unclean spirit,) And he asked him, what is thy name? and he answered, saying, my name is Legion: for we are many. And he besought him much that he would not send them away out of the country. Now there was there, nigh unto the mountains, a great herd of swine feeding. And all the devils besought him, saying send us into the swine, that we may enter into them. And forthwith Jesus gave them leave. And the unclean spirits went out, and entered into the swine; and the herd ran violently down a steep place into the sea, (they were about two thousand,) and were choaked in the sea."

The force of imagination is capable of producing strange effects.—When animal magnetism began in France, which was while Doctor Franklin was minister to that country, the wonderful accounts given of the wonderful effects it produced on the persons who were under the operation exceeded any thing related in the foregoing letter from Washington county. They tumbled down fell into trances, roared and rolled about like persons supposed to be bewitched. The Government, in order to ascertain the fact or detect the imposition, appointed a committee of physicians to inquire into the case, and Doctor Franklin was requested to accompany them which he did.

The committee went to the Operator's house, and the per-

sons on whom an operation was to be performed were assembled. They were placed in the position in which they had been when under former operations, and *blind-folded*. In a little time they began to shew signs of agitation, and in the space of about two hours they went through all the frantic airs they had shewn before; but the case was, that no operation was performing upon them, neither was the Operator in the room, for he had been ordered out of it by the physicians; but as the persons did not know this, they supposed him present and operating upon them. It was the effect of imagination only. Doctor Franklin in relating this account to the writer of this article, said that he thought the Government might as well have let it go on, for that as imagination sometimes produced disorders it might also cure some; and a similar remark may be made on this account from Washington county, for it makes the people better livers than before, let it go on. It is fortunate however, that this falling-down and crying-out scene did not happen in New England a century ago, for if it had the preachers would have been hung for withcraft, and in more ancient times the poor falling-down folks would have been supposed to be possessed of a devil, like the man in Mark, among the tombs. The progress that reason and Deism make in the world, lessen the force of superstition, and abate the spirit of persecution.

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A LETTER; BEING AN ANSWER TO A FRIEND,  
ON THE PUBLICATION OF THE AGE OF  
REASON.

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Paris, May 12, 1797.

IN your letter of the 20th of March you give me several quotations from the Bible, which you call the *word of God*, to shew me that my opinions on religion are wrong, and I could give you as many from the same book to shew that yours are not wright; consequently then the Bible decides nothing, because it decides any way, and every way, one choose to make it.

But by what authority do you call the Bible the *word of God*? for this is the first point to be settled. It is not your calling it so that makes it so, any more than the Mahometans



calling the Koran the *word of God* that makes the Koran to be so. The Popish Councils of Nice and Laodocia about 350 years after the time that the person called Jesus Christ is said to have lived, voted the books that now compose what is called the New Testament to be the *word of God*. This was done by *yeas* and *nays* as we now vote a law. The Pharisees of the second Temple, after the Jews returned from captivity in Babylon, did the same by the books that now compose the Old testament, and this is all the authority there is, which to me is no authority at all. I am as capable of judging for myself as they were, and I think more so, because as they made a living by their religion, they had a self-interest in the vote they gave.

You may have an opinion that a man is inspired, but you cannot prove it, nor can you have any proof of it yourself, because you cannot see into his mind in order to know how he comes by his thoughts, and the same is the case with the word *revelation*. There can be no evidence of such a thing, for you can no more prove revelation than you can prove what another man dreams of, neither can he prove it himself.

It is often said in the Bible that God spake unto Moses; but how do you know that God spoke unto Moses? Because, you will say, the Bible says so. The Koran says that God spake unto Mahomet, do you believe that too? No. Why not? Because, you will say, you do not believe it; and so, because you *do*, and because you *don't*, is all the reason you can give for believing or disbelieving, except that you will say that Mahomet was an imposter. And how do you know that Moses was not an imposter? For my own part I believe that all are imposters that pretend to hold verbal communication with the Deity. It is the way by which the world has been imposed upon; but if you think otherwise you have the same right to your opinion that I have to mine, and must answer for it in the same manner. But all this does not settle the point, whether the Bible be the *word of God*, or not. It is therefore necessary to go a step farther. The case then is:—

You form your opinion of God from the account given of him in the Bible; and I form my opinion of the Bible from the wisdom and goodness of God, manifested in the structure of the universe, and in all the works of creation. The result in these two cases will be, that you, by taking the Bible for your standard, will have a bad opinion of God; and I by taking God for my standard, will have a bad opinion of the Bible.

The Bible represent God to be a changeable, passionate, vindictate Being; making a world and then drowning it, and afterwards repenting of what he had done and promising not to do so again, Setting one nation to cut the throats of another, and stopping the course of the sun till the butchery should be done. But the works of God in the creation preaches to us another doctrine. In that vast volume we see nothing to give us the idea of a changeable, passionate, vindictive God, every thing we there behold impresses us with a contrary idea; that of unchangeableness, and of eternal order, harmony, and goodness. The sun and the seasons return at their appointed time, and every thing in the creation proclaims that God is unchangeable. Now, which am I to believe, a book that any imposter might make and call the *word of God*, or the creation itself which none but an almighty power could make, for the Bible says one thing, and the creation says the contrary. The Bible represents God with all the passions of a mortal, and the creation proclaims him with all the attributes of a God.

It is from the Bible that men has learned cruelty, rapine, and murder; for the belief of a cruel God makes a cruel man. That blood-thirsty man, called the prophet Samuel, makes God to say, (1 Sam. chap. xv. ver. 3,)—"now go and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and *spare them not, but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass.*"

That Samuel, or some impostor, might say, this is what, at this distance of time, can neither be proved nor disproved, but in my opinion it is blasphemy to say, or to believe, that God said it. All our ideas of the justice and goodness of God revolt at the impious cruelty of the Bible. It is not a God, just and good, but a devil, under the name of God, that the Bible describes.

What makes this pretended order to destroy the Amalekites appear the worse, is the reason given for it. The Amalekites four hundred years before, according to the account in Exodus, chap. 17, (but which has the appearance of fable from the magical account it gives of Moses holding up his hands) had opposed the Israelites coming into their country, and this the Amalekites had a right to do, because the Israelites were the invaders, as the Spaniards were the invaders Mexico; and this opposition by the Amalekites *at that time* is given as a reason that the men, women, infants, and sucklings, sheep and oxen, camels and asses that were born four hundred



years afterwards should be put to death; and to complete the horror Samuel hewed Agag, the chief of the Amalekites, in pieces as you would hew a stick of wood. I will bestow a few observations on this case.

In the the first place, nobody knows who the author, or writer, of the book of Samuel was, and therefore the fact itself has no other proof than anonymous or hear-say evidence, which is no evidence at all. In the second place, this anonymous book says that this slaughter was done by *the express command of God*; but all our ideas of the justice and goodness of God give the lie to the book, and as I never will believe any book that ascribes cruelty and injustice to God, I therefore reject the Bible as unworthy of credit.

As I have now given you my reasons for believing that the Bible is not the word of God, that it is a falsehood, I have a right to ask you your reasons for believing the contrary; but I know you can give me none, except that *you were educated to believe the Bible*, and as the Turks give the same reason for believing the Koran it is evident that education makes all the difference, and that reason and truth have nothing to do in the case. You believe in the Bible from the accident of birth, and the Turks believe in the Koran from the same accident, and each call the other *Infidel*. But leaving the prejudice of education out of the case, the unprejudice truth is, that all are infidels who believe falsely of God, whether they draw their creed from the Bible, or from the Koran, from the Old Testament, or from the New.

When you have examined the Bible with the attention that I have done, (for I do not think you know much about it,) and permit yourself to have just ideas of God, you will most probably believe as I do. But I wish you to know that this answer to your letter is not written for the purpose of changing your opinion. It is written to satisfy you, and some other friends whom I esteem, that my disbelief of the Bible is founded on a pure and religious belief in God; for in my opinion the Bible is a gross libel against the justice and goodness of God in almost every part of it.

THOMAS PAINE.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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IF it be convenient to the friend, who is translating the "Life of Paul," to let us have the whole of it to complete in the present volume, we shall be obliged to him. The Vol. will be finished with No. 26.

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ANOTHER pamphlet of the miniature edition of Paine's Theological Works is ready, Price sixpence. It contains "Letter to Erskine"—"Discourse to the Theophilanthropists"—and "Letter to Camille Jordan."

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TO THE PUBLIC.

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IN addition to the Political Works of Paine, I will sell whole sets, or single volumes of the REPUBLICAN, except the first, at half price. I have not many complete sets.

R. CARLILE.